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Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area. Map 2

1: Tessmann--xiv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/51/ Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village, significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

101 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author
● 361 uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concen-
[487] tration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

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1; Tessmann--8 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 FH9 Fang FH9

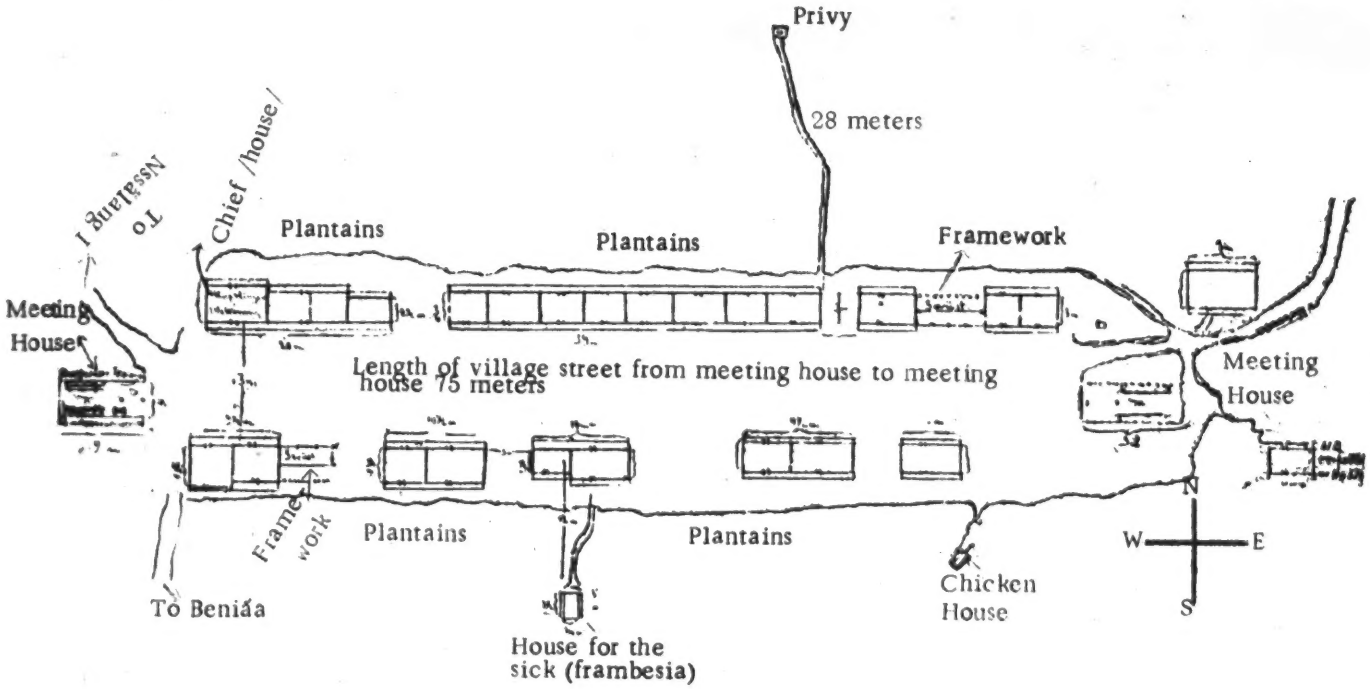

Fig. 16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssälang (Essauong Family) Fang. Made in 1908.

361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [487] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 592 64 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his additional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, however, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house -- in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dzîs; plural, mîs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dzâ, plural mâ (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,

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Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

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and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which
I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of
the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

> 1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

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Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one
thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

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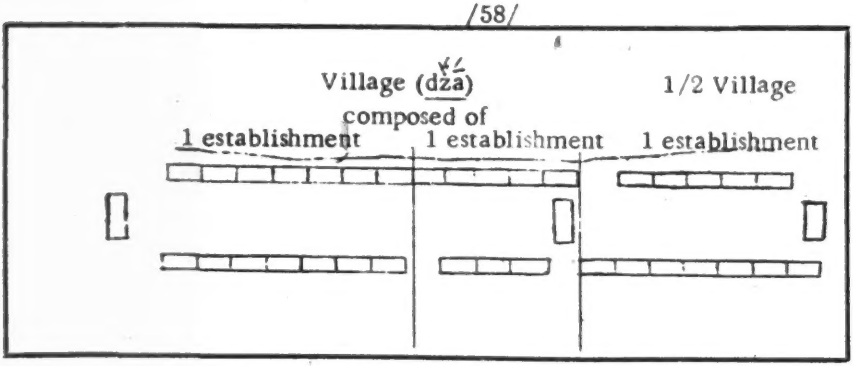

Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zɔ́[k] e tsí dan ebḗi-asḗi, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

até́i, a nī oa adzí̱t
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

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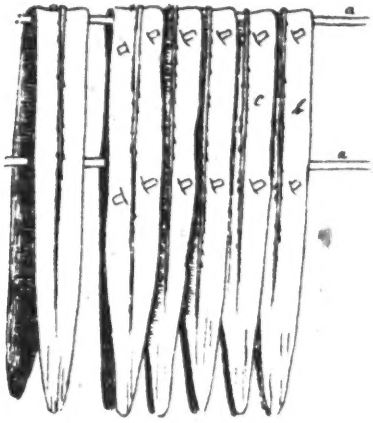

Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

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Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssälang (Essáung Family), Spanish Guinea.

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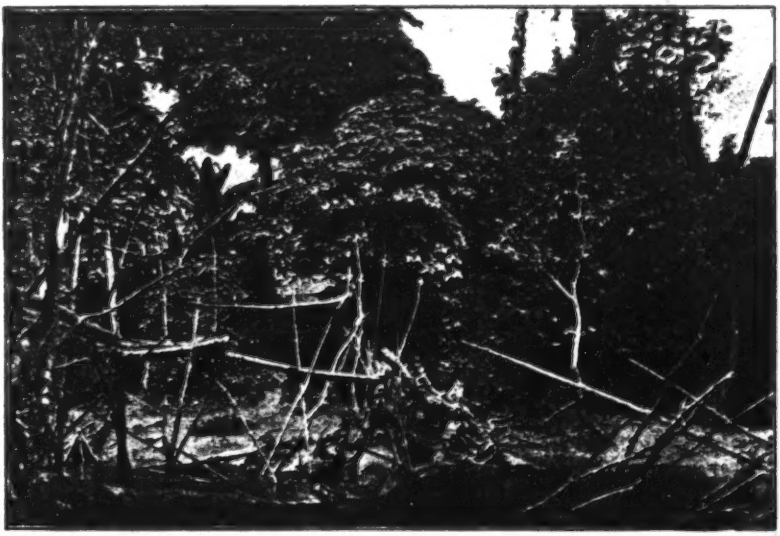

Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfílle) near Makonám (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

000 original text. /

361 Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

364 The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akūn) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

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Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myö-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

1: Tessmann--329 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate IV

Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

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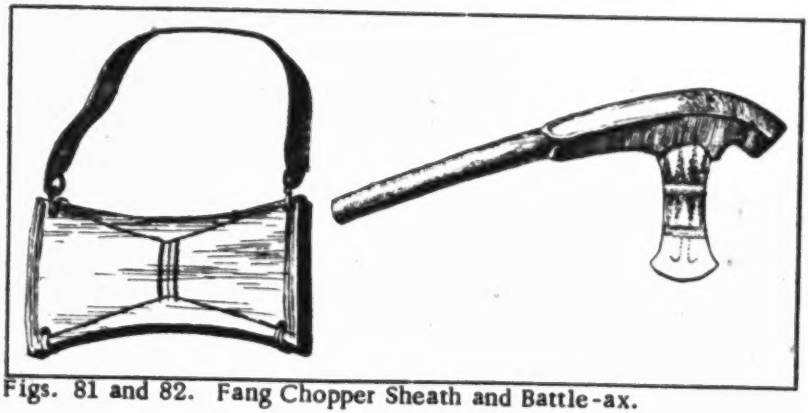

Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

● [361] On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

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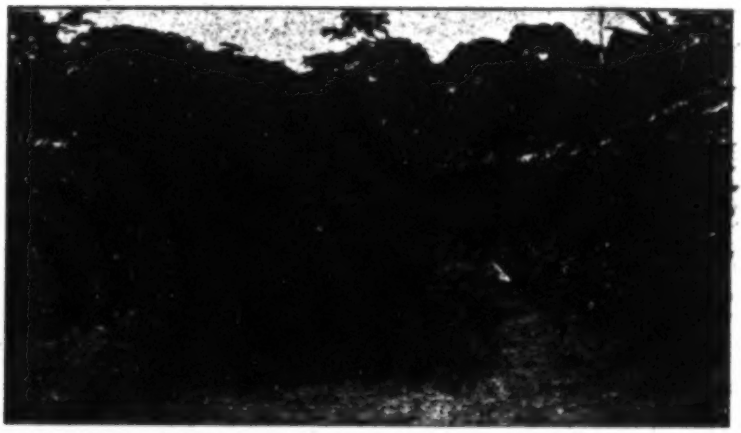

Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

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/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

161 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

173 I. Conceming the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a [867] Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
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THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1,126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

Ngoro
Bafɔk-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101 131 361 Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk, " "Fök, " or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk, " "Bafeuk, " or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

●361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the
[197] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

Bafök-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafök and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

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TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: $11^{o}20$ to $11^{o}50$ long. and from south to north: $3^{o}35$ to $3^{o}50$ north lat. near Yaoundé $4^{o}15$ to $4^{o}40$ north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

●361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

●361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
173 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is +1.14 percent.

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MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44. 3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

●361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55. 7 percent; A: 13. 8 percent; B: 17. 5 percent; AB: 12. 9 percent;—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 0. 878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167. 8 cm.; women 159. 9 cm.

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

● 361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

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101 131 Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat.
and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361 563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They 313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

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Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9, 936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1, 728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96, 216 inhabitants; 9. 59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12, 987 inhabitants; 7. 5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1, 407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

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Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

●361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

●361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2, 472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18, 452 inhabitants
Bobili—6, 247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 950 square km.

161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants

Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture -- at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo.(2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem

● 361 This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These conditions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active and prosperous elements (producing three quarters of the cacao grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document, 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak (Yénzòk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzòk, Yémvôg, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 511] lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esèngi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Okip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ožip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
613 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisèm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bökwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sòle name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
613 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvóg, the Yémödâg, the Ndôg, the
614 Yéngwi, and the Yémisèm. They are also the ones which reveal a
619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this district has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Captain Roussel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
●361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
●361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omblooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé Distr[illegible] are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé peo[illegible] They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[317] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[464] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal
618 fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the
[161] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
618 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngũ, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision
●361 of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The
615 Oyèk are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the
619 Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzòk tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esisis) to 1. 5 percent (Omvâg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during
615 the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups. They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Woleu-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogooué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the [463] men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

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621
361

land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abèñö); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaġ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñö, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñö as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñö, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñö of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

4. Towns

361 621 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 321 621 [102] In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages. Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked. "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the [184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Banê country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Banê seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense. Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nsẽ̃), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abẽ̃) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nsẽ̃; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ̃) as well as tobacco were grown in the central nsẽ̃. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ̃), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an 361 average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts [178] are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia [514] tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the [531] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

> 1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

361 shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others
351 follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments"
231 are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in
574 old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

312 In building operations the man generally takes charge of the frame-
462 work and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their
333 elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more
342 the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason, " the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

342 1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real
556 frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J. B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

571 The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined
121 in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncer-
114 tain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state
665 them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation, " extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

614 Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

[848 577] The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

> 3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, [182] where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

[36] An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his [849] lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 621 166 787 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds, decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 621 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 621 769 782 All the men then come together in the middle of what will be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyôn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyôn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyôn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyôn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 621 769 782 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives. This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

361 621 769 778 After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyɔ̀n back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never removed, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries [824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used. [822 842] At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood, white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants [787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be [824] abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her [842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 361 The women plant maize everywhere after these preliminaries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrization is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy the *abeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *abeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled*.

Ano Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata bass lewa bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afon eto bi* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fan b'angeye inifini ne bo bidji binne* (Fan likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikwa e djal ine, betak* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal nne afon bilé* (Plantain village *is* a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nwa ane afon betata benge to bilé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angeye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'ubel a gneri letyié: benek benge ndon* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mendo infini ne eic bo ebé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fan, Bo'dji asee mbia bidiem* (Fan they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1896, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.